

Message Text

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21

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4652

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMCONSUL LORENCO MARQUES

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 0573

E.O.11652:N/A

TAGS :PFOR,SF,WA

SUBJ :TEXT OF VORSTER'S SPEECH ON NAMIBIA

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PORTIONS OF PRIME MINISTER VORSTER'S
MAY 20 WINDHOEK SPEECH DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS
OF NAMIBIAN DEVELOPMENTS. SPEECH WAS DELIVERED IN
AFRIKAANS. THIS TRANSLATION PREPARED BY DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS AND GIVEN TO EMBASSY EVENING OF MAY 20.

QUOTE:

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I DO NOT WANT TO ELABORATE HERE ON DETAILS OF THE

INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TERRITORY. THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE IN THIS CONNECTION IS WELLKNOWN, VIZ., THAT IT IS FOR THE PEOPLES OF SWA THEMSELVES AND FOR NOBODY ELSE, TO DECIDE UPON THEIR OWN POLITICAL FUTURE. WITH THIS IN VIEW THE PROCESS OF MUTUAL CONSULTATION AMONG THE PEOPLES OF THE TERRITORY HAS ALREADY BEGUN. NOBODY,SURELY, IS UNDER THE ILLUSION THAT IT WILL BE AN EASY PROCESS,BUT THE PROSPECT DOES EXIST THAT AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED AMONG ALL THE POPULATION GROUPS. IN THIS CONNECTION I REFER ONCE AGAIN TO THE QUOTATION AT PAGE 49 FORM THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA SURVEY OF 1967 WHICH WAS MADE AVAILABLE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION AND TO MANY NATIONS, AND WHICH READS AS FOLLOWS:

'ANOTHER IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IS THAT AS THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANS AND INSTITUTIONS DEVELOP AMONGST THE NON-WHITE PEOPLES, THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTACT AND CONSULTATION BETWEEN THEM AND THE CENTRAL GOVERNING AUTHORITY MUST NECESSARILY GROW, AND IN INCREASING MEASURE THEIR WISHES WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT ON MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

HOWEVER, AT THIS STAGE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FORESEE WITH ANY DEGREE OF ACCURACY THE ULTIMATE INTERACTIONS OF THE VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS. CIRCUMSTANCES WILL ALTER RADICALLY. WHAT IS CONSIDERED ANATHEMA TODAY MAY WELL BECOME SOUND PRACTICAL POLITICS TOMORROW,AND VICE VERSA, NOR IS IT NECESSARY TO EMBARK ON SPECULATION AS TO WHAT THE ULTIMATE FUTURE POLITICAL PATTERN WILL BE-I.E.WHETHER AND TO WHAT EXTENT THERE MAY BE AMALGAMATIONS OR UNIONS OF SOME KIND,FEDERATIONS,COMMONWEALTH OR COMMON MARKET ARRANGEMENTS,ETC. THE PEOPLES THEMSELVES WILL ULTIMATELY DECIDE. MEANWHILE,SOUTH AFRICA'S TASK AND SOLEMN DUTY IS TO HELP THE DIVERSE PEOPLES OF THE TERRITORY ADVANCE ECONOMICALLY,SOCIALY AND POLITICALLY,TO THE STAGE WHEN THEY THEMSELVES WILL BE ABLE TO DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE WISELY, PROTECTING,GUIDING AND HELPING THEM,IN A SPIRIT OF TRUSTEESHIP UNTIL THEIR EMANCIPATION HAS BEEN ATTAINED.'

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YOU WILL TAKE NOTE THAT THESE WORDS WERE WRITTEN, PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED IN 1967.

WITHOUT WISHING TO ANTICIPATE THE RESULTS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS, I NEVERTHELESS WANT TO PUT TO YOU MY FIRM CONVICTION THAT THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA WILL NOT BE SO SHORTSIGHTED AS TO PURSUE A COURSE

WHICH WILL DISRUPT THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF THE TERRITORY, TO THE MATERIAL DETRIMENT OF ALL THE POPULATION GROUPS WHICH HAVE THEIR HOMES THERE.

1. THEN I WANT TO STATE THAT ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NEVER AT ANY STAGE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS THE RIGHT TO EXERCISE ANY SUPERVISION OVER OUR ADMINISTRATION (OF THE TERRITORY), WE HAVE OVER THE YEARS REPEATEDLY TRIED TO FIND AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS WITH A VIEW TO SOLVING THE PROBLEM. WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN WILLING TO FURNISH INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY AND ITS PEOPLES TO ANYBODY WHO WAS REALLY INTERESTED IN CIRCUMSTANCES AND LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE TERRITORY. IN HIS STATEMENT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON 24 OCTOBER 1974, OUR AMBASSADOR AT THE UNITED NATIONS SET OUT SOME OF THE RESULTS OF OUR ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY AS WELL AS SOUTH AFRICA'S MANY EFFORTS FROM EARLY ON TO COOPERATE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS IN FINDING AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION ON THE ISSUE. I NEED ONLY MENTION IN PASSING THAT ARDEN-CLARKE COMMISSION, THE CARPIO-DE ALVA COMMISSION, INVITATIONS TO U THANT, WHICH HE DID NOT ACCEPT, AND LASTLY, DR. ESCHER'S APPOINTMENT AS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, DR. WALDHEIM, TO WHICH I SHALL PRESENTLY REVERT.

THE QUESTION MAY NOW BE PUT TO ME:

2) WHERE DO WE STAND AT PRESENT? WHAT IN BROAD OUTLINE ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES IN REGARD TO THIS SITUATION AND THIS PROBLEM AS ENUNCIATED AT THE UNITED NATIONS?

(A) FIRSTLY, MUCH EMPHASIS IS LAID UPON THE SEPARATE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF THE TERRITORY. WE RESPECT THE SEPARATE STATUS OF THE TERRITORY. I AGAIN WANT TO PUT IT VERY CLEARLY; UNCLASSIFIED

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WE, THAT IS TO SAY SOUTH AFRICA, DO NOT CLAIM FOR OURSELVES ONE SINGLE INCH OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA'S SOIL.

(B) IT IS DEMANDED THAT THE HUMAN DIGNITY AND RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLES, IRRESPECTIVE OF COLOUR OR RACE, BE MAINTAINED AND PROMOTED. ONCE AGAIN, WE AGREE. BUT I HAVE EVERY RIGHT ON THIS OCCASION TO ASK: IS IT NOT TIME THAT SOME OF OUR CRITICS SHOULD ALSO DO SO? - PARTICULARLY THOSE INVOKING THESE RIGHTS WHO DENY TO PEOPLES THE RIGHT TO DECIDE UPON THEIR OWN FUTURE.

INDEED, AN IMPORTANT RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN THIS AREA WAS THE ADOPTION BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY IN WINDHOEK OF A MOTION GIVING UNANIMOUS SUPPORT TO THE ENDEAVOURS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TO PROMOTE GOOD HUMAN RELATIONS AMONG

THE INHABITANTS OF THE TERRITORY. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
FURTHERMORE REQUESTED THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TO GIVE ATTENTION
TO MEASURES AND PRACTICES STANDING ON THE WAY OF GOOD RELATIONS
BETWEEN WHITE AND NON-WHITE. PURSUANT TO THIS MOTION THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL HAS APPOINTED A STUDY GROUP CONSISTING
OF FIVE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY TO INVESTIGATE
THIS MATTER FULLY AND TO REPORT ON IT TO THE EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL. WE IN SOUTH AFRICA WELCOME THESE INITIATIVES BECAUSE
WE BELIEVE THAT RELATIONS AMONG ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE
TERRITORY CAN THEREBY BE MUCH IMPROVED. I WOULD LIKE TO
COMMEND ALL THOSE WHO ARE TAKING PART AND HAVE TAKEN PART
IN THIS POSITIVE ACTION AND I DO NOT DOUBT THAT THEIR EFFORTS
WILL BE CROWNED WITH SUCCESS.

(C) IT IS REQUIRED THAT THE INHABITANTS OF SWA SHOULD,
AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE, BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS
THEIR VIEWS FREELY ON THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE. THIS
TOO IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR POLICY, AND AS I HAVE SAID,
WE HAD ALREADY FORMULATED IT IN 1967 IN THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE
TERMS.

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THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT EARNESTLY TRUSTS THAT CONSTITUTIONAL DISCUSSIONS WILL TAKE PLACE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND ALSO THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES AT THESE DISCUSSIONS WILL DECIDE UPON THEIR FUTURE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. INDEAD, WE SHALL DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO REACH EARLY AGREEMENT IN THIS MATTER. BUT, I WANT TO PUT IT CLEARLY: WE CANNOT AND SHALL NOT INTERFERE IN THE TAKING OF DECISIONS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE OF THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA. THE INHABITANTS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA THEMSELVES AND NOBODY ELSE WILL DECIDE UPON THEIR FUTURE. THE INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WE FOR OUR PART HAVE NOT BROUGHT AND SHALL UNCLASSIFIED

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NOT BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR UPON THEM AS TO HOW THEY MUST GO ABOUT THIS. OUR SOLE INTEREST IS THAT THEY SHOULD FREELY AND VOLUNTARILY REACH AGREEMENT ON THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

(D) ANOTHER IMPORTANT POINT WHICH IS EMPHASIZED ON THE UNITED NATIONS SIDE, IS THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE TERRITORY AND THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR WITHDRAWAL AND TRANSFER OF POWER MUST BE MADE ACCORDING TO THE WISHES OF THE INHABITANTS. IN REGARD TO THIS MATTER I WANT TO PUT IT VERY CLEAR: WE DO NOT OCCUPY THE TERRITORY. WE ARE THERE BECAUSE THE PEOPLES OF THE TERRITORY WANT US THERE. WE DO NOT FORCE OURSELVES UPON THE PEOPLES OF THE TERRITORY AND IN THIS REGARD WE TAKE COGNIZANCE ONLY OF THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

(E) ANOTHER DEMAND WHICH IS MADE, IS THAT ALL POLITICAL GROUPS BE ALLOWED TO PROPAGATE THEIR POINTS OF VIEW AND TO PARTICIPATE WITHOUT HINDRANCE IN PEACEFUL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE PROCESS LEADING TO SELF-DETERMINATION. WITH THIS TOO WE AGREE. AS A MATTER OF FACT, WHERE ELECTIONS HAVE ALREADY TAKEN PLACE AN OPEN INVITATION WAS ISSUED TO ALL TO PARTICIPATE THEREIN. IN THE LATEST CASE OF THE ELECTION OF THE OWAMBO EVEN THOSE ABROAD WHO WISHED TO COME PEACEABLY TO PARTICIPATE WERE INVITED, AND THE MAJORITY OF THE OWAMBO'S FREELY ELECTED THEIR GOVERNMENT AND APPOINTED CHIEF MINISTER ELIFAS AS THEIR LEADER. THERE IS THUS NO IMPEDIMENT IN THE WAY OF ANYBODY

TO PROPAGATE ANY CONSTITUTIONAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN A
PEACEABLE MANNER AND TO WIN MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR HIS
POINT OF VIEW.

(F) A FURTHER POINT WHICH IS INSISTED UPON IS THAT THE
TERRITORY SHOULD NOT BE SPLIT UP IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE
POLICY OF APARTHEID AND THAT IT SHOULD BECOME INDEPENDENT
AS ONE STATE, UNLESS THE INHABITANTS SHOULD FREELY CHOOSE
OTHERWISE. ANYBODY WHO KNOWS SOUTH WEST AFRICA WILL KNOW
THAT THE DIFFERENT PEOPLES IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA WERE THERE
LONG BEFORE THE PRESENT SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CAME TO
POWER AND IT IS MY POSITION THAT NOTHING WILL OCCUR IN THE
TERRITORY WHICH IS NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FREE CHOICE
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OF ITS POPULATION GROUPS. IT IS FOR THEM AND NOBODY ELSE
TO CHOOSE-AND, AS I HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID: ALL OPTIONS
ARE OPEN TO THEM.

3) FROM THIS EXPOSITION IT THUS APPEARS THAT IN
SUBSTANCE WE ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS
OF THE POINTS OF VIEW WHICH ARE PUT IN THE UNITED NATIONS.
AS FAR AS THE O.A.U. ARE CONCERNED, IN PRINCIPLE, AND BEARING
IN MIND WHAT I HAVE ALREADY SAID, WE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH
THEIR POINTS OF VIEW CONCERNING SELF-DETERMINATION.
INDEPENDENCE AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY
OF THE TERRITORY. WHERE WE DO DIFFER AND VERY CLEARLY DIFFER,
IS IN REGARD TO THE ROLE CLAIMED FOR THE UNITED NATIONS AND
SWAPO. WE DO NOT HIDE, NOR HAVE WE EVER BEEN ASHAMED OF
OUR ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY. INDEED, WE GO OUT OF
OUR WAY TO MAKE INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TERRITORY AND
ITS PEOPLE FREELY AVAILABLE.

I ALSO WANT TO REPEAT HERE WHAT I HAVE SAID IN THE
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, VIZ., THAT LEADERS OF AFRICA WHO MAY
BE INTERESTED IN VISITING THE TERRITORY IN ORDER TO
ACQUAINT THEMSELVES WITH CONDITIONS THERE, ARE VERY WELCOME
TO DO SO, EITHER PERSONALLY OR THROUGH THEIR REPRESENTATIVES.
I WOULD ALSO BE PREPARED, AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, TO
EXCHANGE IDEAS WITH A COMMITTEE OF THE O.A.U. ON THE BASIS
OF THE POINTS OF VIEW WHICH I HAVE EXPOUNDED HERE,
BUT AS I HAVE ALREADY STATED IN THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE TERMS,
I CANNOT ACCEPT THE ROLE WHICH IS PROPOSED FOR SWAPO.

IF THE AFRICAN CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL FOR SWA,
AND THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE O.A.U., ARE THEREFORE REALLY
INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING WITH ME IN SOUTH AFRICA
THE PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE TERRITORY, I SHALL ALSO
ASK THE REAL LEADERS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE TERRITORY TO
TALK TO THEM. FURTHERMORE, IF THEY WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE

THESE LEADERS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO OBTAIN
FROM THEM FIRST HAND INFORMATION, THEY ARE FREE TO INVITE THEM,
AND WE SHALL DO ALL WE CAN TO HELP MAKE THE VISIT OR
VISITS POSSIBLE.

FOR THE REST, WE ENTERED INTO AN AGREEMENT WITH THE
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SECRETARY-
GENERAL THAT HE WOULD APPOINT A PERSONAL
REPRESENTATIVE DR. ESCHER WAS APPOINTED. WE ARE STILL PREPARED
TO NEGOTIATE FURTHER WITH HIM OR, IF HE IS NO LONGER ACCEPTABLE
TO DR.WALDHEIM, TO CONSULT WITH THE LATTER ON THE
APPOINTMENT OF ANOTHER ACCEPTABLE PERSON SO THAT HE MAY
ACQUAINT HIMSELF WITH THE PROGRESS OF THE PROCESS OF SELF-
DEVELOPMENT HERE IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA. IT WILL BE UNDERSTOOD
HOWEVER, THAT WE WILL NOT ACCEPT UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION.

THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA HAVE ALREADY CHOSEN
THEIR OWN LEADERS OR ARE IN THE PROCESS OF DOING SO.
THEY ARE RIGHTLY PROUD OF THEIR LEADERS, THEIR INSTITUTIONS,
THEIR TRADITIONS, THEIR IDENTITIES, AND THEIR RIGHTS.
THESE CANNOT AND MAY NOT BE INTERFERED WITH AND SOUTH
AFRICA WILL DECIDEDLY NOT BE PARTY TO SUCH INTERFERENCE
-NO MATTER BY WHOM.

IF THEN THE COUNTRIES AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE
ANXIOUS TO FIND A SOLUTION FOR THIS PROBLEM AND TO AVOID
CONFRONTATION IN THE MATTER, EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THESE
REASONABLE PROPOSALS WHICH I HAVE HERE ENUNCIATED MUST
BE ACCEPTED BY THEM.

MAY I IN CONCLUSION MAKE AN EARNEST APPEAL FROM THIS
PLATFORM TO ALL COUNTRIES AND LEADERS NOT TO DISTURB THE
PEACE AND PROGRESS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND WITHOUT ON
THIS OCCASION MENTIONING NAMES, I SAY TO THEM: JUST
LOOK AS THE CHAOS AND MISERY IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES AND BE
ASSURED THAT SOUTH AFRICA, TOGETHER WITH THE LEADERS OF
THE TERRITORY, DOES NOT SEE ITS WAY TO ALLOWING SUCH CHAOS
AND MISERY EVER TO OCCUR IN THIS TERRITORY. I ONCE AGAIN
GIVE THAT PLAIN ASSURANCE TO THE TERRITORY OF SOUTH WEST
AFRICA AND TO ITS PEOPLES.
END QUOTE

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